ls Hanke--3 O-5 (ca.1968) 1956 Sh44 Guarani Sh46

/219/ II. Material Culture.

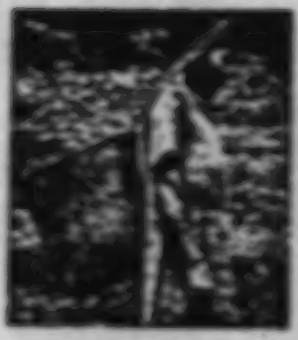
178 The Caingás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingué tribes in Paraguay (6):

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingué /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Caingás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The
285 carrying baskets (boné) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana root. In general,
534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical: I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

293 Of great importance even today are the objects used in
292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the
237 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe.
[301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears
[304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of
[301] resin, called tembetá. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special
[824] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Caingás regard this as essential.



IV. Carrying-baskets of the Council women.
1. Mithi. 2. Bandara.

V. Clearing of a Bandara-Council family from Dhimdan.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 EM4 Courrel Eh14

doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.* There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the tapiri, in such family section, and could be undone for extra space during the day.

Every aboriginal tapiri had its mortar, and probably most had several of them. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side; both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.* Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened lenticularly, giving the pestle somewhat the appearance of a mattock, thick spatula.

Long troughs for *chuñ* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each tapiri. Some of the palmetto-like troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never so large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest observed.

Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the Ranquean have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 3 feet in diameter) were used for storing *chuñ*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested ethnologically.

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *chuñ* beer and in parching corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the women's back baskets, *ashuanikil* (or *aiñuiki*), worn across the

* Rengger, 1868, p. 355.

* It is possible, however, that the fundamental type of mortar is vertical. It is more easily used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sh64 Guarani Sh64

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of caraguatá, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called sakoti (the word for "two").

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Caingué (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiripaneo

are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any really navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Caingué of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "Cayuá ou Caingué do Brésil" (p. 412), who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Barbudos," "Pak," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cords were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar chiripá of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[*] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[*] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg wrappings, or boots, is supposed to have been related to the idea of warding off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather wrappings for this latter purpose.[*]

Ruiz de Montoya mentions "mantles" of cotton,[*] but no further cases are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupí tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[*] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [*] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 756. [*] Ibid., p. 760.
[*] Ibid. [*] Ruiz de Montoya, 1639, p. 125, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Amerina, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*borunes* from Spanish *cruz*), *adurukú*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupí of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain. 178[a] 302 178[c] 237 301

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cheí* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapirí are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The cane and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cheí* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cheí* trough at Taquapirí is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor. 178[a] 352 415 531 178[c] 415 [252] [322] [273]

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Fireflame, woman's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers. 177[a] 178[b] 285 [462]

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *adurukú* gourd rattles, *tabaapé* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen 177[a] 178[c] 534

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 Sm4 Guarani Sm4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[88]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[89]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *kelicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapirí—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokué* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puhirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puhirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *chuí*[90] for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[88] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[89] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *chuí* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools. 177* 182 241 412

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis. 177* 182 241

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork. 177* 182 439 [415] [323] [286]

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes. [412] [322] [285]

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts. [464]

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 439 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

*177 182 439 • 285 286 But certain Cayuá craft articles themselves command a price on the part of the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills. Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods substitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

*177 182 464 648 439 II. A. e. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established (*chavga*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it. (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *chavga* are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *chavga* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *chavga* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *chavga*. Historically, however, the *chavga* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *chavga*.

The *chavga* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 [171] rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Coyuá* of Brazil, who reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 [285] **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Paí'* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark [177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin [178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 854 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips, but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 [824] [531] **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 [824] **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow, or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 [293] [531] [386] [824] [118] [177] Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*. The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably through *Arawak* influence.

323 178 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 824 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Patagonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)